

Abstract

The French language is an intrinsic part of French culture, of which the French are famously proud. There is a perception, real or otherwise, that linguistic borrowing from English poses a threat to modern French. Therefore, this paper looks at how greatly different types of borrowing from English impact the modern French language, irrespective of individual positive or negative impacts, by analysing their scope, borrowability and the extent of their future impact based on what we can predict. In an attempt to isolate the effects of different types of borrowing, this paper uses examples that only fall into one category of borrowing where possible. The categories of borrowing that this paper looks at are: phonemic (sound), morphemic (spelling and shape), semantic (meaning), cultural and syntactical (grammar). This paper concludes that syntactical borrowing has the greatest impact, followed by cultural, then semantic, then morphemic and, finally, phonemic has the least impact.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

**WHAT TYPE OF BORROWING FROM ENGLISH HAS THE GREATEST IMPACT
ON THE MODERN FRENCH LANGUAGE?**

Bibi Elliott

The Rouse Research Essay Award 2023

Rouse Award (Format A)

Linguistics

3803 Words

Supervisor: FHM

Form: DJB

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Introduction.....	3
Defining Terms.....	3
Phonemic Borrowing (Sound).....	6
Morphemic Borrowing (Form/Spelling).....	7
Semantic Borrowing (Meaning).....	9
Cultural Borrowing.....	11
Syntactical Borrowing (Grammar).....	13
Conclusion.....	15
Works Cited.....	16

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mrs Hughes-Morgan for her advice and support as my supervisor.

Introduction

Over millennia human communication has evolved and French is no different. Borrowing is a particularly controversial topic amongst linguists, with views arguing that it is ‘threatening’ French, to the extent of killing it (Académie française, 2019), “infiltrating” and “contaminating” French as Pauline Marois said (Pelletier, 2021), or that it actually ‘enriches’ the vocabulary of a language (Pohl, 2021).

Linguistic borrowing is also especially important in the context of modern France due to the national and linguistic pride (Develey, 2017) of the French and in particular the *Académie française* which often clashes with the booming sectors of economy and business (macrotrends, n.d.) of today’s globalised world that are dominated by the English language (Neeley, 2012).

It is necessary to explore the extent of the impact of borrowing and to rank the impact of each type of borrowing to let one theoretically consider and prioritise future measures to limit the harm that comes from certain types of borrowing or to promote any borrowing that enhances and enriches French.

This paper will be looking at phonemic, morphemic, semantic, cultural and syntactical borrowings to answer the question: “What type of borrowing from English has the greatest impact on the modern French language?” and will demonstrate that, of the five types of borrowing analysed, syntactical borrowings from English have the greatest impact on the modern French language based on the above criteria.

Defining Terms

Firstly, the usage of the term borrowing must be explained. This paper will use ‘borrowing’ rather than ‘borrow word’ or ‘*emprunt*’ as these alternatives have many disadvantages, the most consequential of which is the implication that some words are not

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

borrowed, which is incorrect; every word has a root in another form of communication and is thus 'borrowed'. Although borrowing has similar metaphorical issues to 'borrow word' (Haspelmath, 2009, pp. 36-37), it does not imply a binary division between words that are borrowed and those that are not; it is also a widely accepted and understood term in linguistics (Kang, 2013, p. 3; Haugen, 1950, p. 212; Haspelmath, 2009, pp. 36-37; Jdetawy & Hamzah, 2020, p. 101) and thus will be used.

Secondly, it is necessary to define this overarching term of borrowing. Despite borrowing being a well-recognised and widely used phrase, there are many distinct and differing definitions. Although this paper will be using Haugen's (1950, p. 212) definition of substitution¹ and importation², the definition of borrowing used in this paper is original yet influenced by Haugen (1950, p. 212) and Kang (2013, p. 3) and is: the introduction of a new word, phrase or pattern that takes at least some foreign influence from one or more of: syntax, morphology, phonology or semantics due to the reproduction (or attempted reproduction) of non-native patterns.

Even having clarified the term borrowing, distinct subclassification of borrowing is almost impossible as there is often a strong overlap in each instance of borrowing, and therefore isolating their distinct impacts, and thus creating a rational comparison, is difficult. Whenever borrowing takes place, there will often be several different types combined. Therefore, when exploring the subclasses in greater detail, this paper will attempt to use examples of single-process (isolated) borrowings or, if this is not possible, isolate the impact of the borrowing in question in order to take these constraints into account. This paper will use an edited taxonomy of that of Greavu (2017, p. 103) with the addition of Myers-Scotten's (1995, p.107) differentiation between core borrowings (where there is no lexical gap) and cultural borrowings

¹ Substitution – 'reproduced the model inaccurately' so that a native speaker would not accept it as his own.

² Importation – 'similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own'.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

(where there is a lexical gap) and syntactical borrowings, thus dividing borrowing into: phonemic (sound), morphemic (shape/spelling), syntactical (grammar), semantic (meaning) and cultural.

In order to show the extent of borrowing, terms such as total borrowing (complete semantic and morphemic importation e.g. *le showbiz*) and agglutinative or composed borrowing (see morphemic borrowing) will be used. One must note that this paper will not look specifically at core, total borrowing (sometimes known as loanwords (Haugen, 1950)), despite the fact that this is one of the most common types of borrowing (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 39), as they are imported both semantically and morphemically, so it is impossible to distinguish and consider their isolated impacts (but in some cases they will be used as examples). However, cultural borrowings (despite also being equally semantically and morphemically imported) are reliant on there being a pre-existing lexical gap (and thus they are a form of localised neologism) so they will be regarded as a totally different process in this paper.

This paper will assess the impact of borrowing by taking into account how greatly it alters the French language in the following ways: the scale on which the type of borrowing is used, the ease of borrowing, whether it is changing the fundamental rules of French and, briefly, the likelihood and significance of any potential future impacts.

One final definition that must be clarified is ‘modern French language’. One might think that a language with over 321 million speakers (Rogers, 2022) would be clearly defined; however, some form of French is the official or de facto language of 29 independent nations (Tomedes, 2021) and the French spoken by the *Académie française* is vastly different to that of the *banlieue* which is in turn distinct from, for example, Quebecois. This paper will be looking at the French spoken in *l’Hexagone* which is often known as *le français standard* (but is also known as *le français normalisé*) (Anon., 2021) and which encompasses the French referenced by the constitution (which is controlled by the *Académie française*), common slang

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

and subject-specific terminology to allow some flexibility to look at unofficial words about which the *Académie française* have grave misgivings (Académie française, 2019). As for the modern aspect, it will be defined as approximately within the last half century with some leniency to explore more examples and statistics. Similarly, English, as the most widely spoken language in the world (Statista Research Department, 2023), should be easy to define, yet encounters the same issues as one does when defining French. When English is referenced in this paper it is an umbrella term alluding to both UK and US English, as applicable.

Phonemic Borrowing (Sound)

The linguistic definition of a phoneme is a unit of sound in a language that makes a word or word element distinguishable (Britannica, 2023), and in any given language there are rules about pronunciation which dictate what phonemes are found in that language and in what circumstances. Phonemic borrowing occurs initially after the total borrowing of a word with phonemes that do not occur in that fashion in the recipient language.

For example, the noun ‘match’ is fully imported as *le match* (/matʃ/) where the (/tʃ/) phonemic unit, which has been borrowed, is almost never found in French unless there has been English phonemic importation (e.g. (*t*)*chatter*). Although theoretically this /tʃ/ phoneme could then appear in either new French slang or even replace the /ʃ/ phoneme (such as in *le champ* (/ʃɑ̃/)) due to the morphemic similarities to English, this is highly unlikely as phonemes are rarely borrowed alone in the first place (Andersson, et al., 2014) and so such a replacement would be almost unimaginable. Moreover, phonemes are rarely borrowed even as a part of a total borrowing (e.g. pyjamas (/pɪˈdʒɑːməz/) goes to the French *le pyjama* (/pi.ʒa.ma/) since the /dʒ/ phonemic chunk does not exist in French).

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

Phonemic borrowing clearly has some impact as it changes the base ‘units’ of French and can undermine rules that underpin spoken French, thus it has the potential to transform the very sound of French. However, several limitations make it the least impactful form of borrowing. Primarily, there are many exceptions to these rules already (Bazin-Bacon, 1858, p. 15), so, although it may have an impact, it is impossible to say that the impact of phonemic changes is solely due to English borrowings. Secondly, because of the fact that phonemes and phonemic structures have been engrained in a native speaker from birth (Anderson, 2018), even complete borrowings are typically nativized according to the phonology of the receptor language (Andersson, et al., 2014) meaning phonemic borrowings are quite rare and so have a fairly narrow scope. Furthermore, any phonemic impact is greatly dependent on accent (Anon., 2023), especially in France which has 23 (Nassie, n.d.) officially recognised regional languages that each have a distinct effect on local French pronunciation, for example in Ch’ti regions, the / $\widehat{d}z$ / phoneme sometimes replaces the / z / phoneme (Anon., 2023) and thus *le pyjama* is pronounced like the English, without any borrowing of the / $\widehat{d}z$ / phoneme. Finally, by their nature phonemic borrowings are limited to spoken French, which further reduces the scope of the impact. Due to the lack of rapid uptake of phonemic borrowings in the past in France (shown by the lack of examples and explained by the above reasons), it is reasonable to assume that they will not become increasingly common in the future and thus they have a limited potential future impact. Overall, the evidence suggests that phonemic borrowings have a fairly minor impact on the modern French Language.

Morphemic Borrowing (Form/Spelling)

A morpheme in linguistic terms is the smallest meaningful unit of a word (Britannica, 2023). For example, in the French word *insupportable* there is the prefix *in-* and the suffix -

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

able and the root *support* from the lexeme *supporter*, all of which are morphemes as they each individually affect the meaning of the word. Morphemic borrowings often involve phonemic and semantic substitution to some extent, but an attempt to distinguish their individual impact will be made. There are two varieties of morphemic borrowing.

Firstly, there are morphemic borrowings of affixes. It can be incredibly difficult to discover which language is the donor versus the recipient in these cases since many languages have affixes with the same meaning and often these affixes have roots in Latin or Greek (McEwan, n.d.). However, there are several common affixes that have obviously been morphemically borrowed from English, one of the most popular of which is the suffix -ing. Although it is often part of a total borrowing (Tresley, 2006) (e.g. *le jogging*), this is not always the case (for example *le surbooking* or *le relooking*). In a study of the usage and knowledge of anglicisms in Paris (Cartier, 1977), a 6-question survey looked at 41 randomly chosen anglicisms of varying frequency in everyday use. In terms of morphology, of the 41 words eight had the suffix -ing³. Moreover, in the most used quartile (according to Question 4⁴) five of them⁵ had the suffix -ing. These figures imply a prevalence in both occurrence and usage of the borrowed -ing suffix on a wider scale.

Secondly, there are composed (or agglutinative) borrowings and arguably affix importation is a subset of these; however, in this paper they will remain separate and be defined as borrowings of solely root morphemes. One of the most common examples is *le cyberspace* (France-Inter, 1996) which has been used regularly throughout the last 20 years (although *cyber-* appears to function as a quasi-affix, in reality it is a truncated form of the English cybernetics (Wiktionary, 2023)). One thing to note is that Anglo-Gallic heterogeneous borrowings are the only type of composed borrowing to be discussed here as, when exploring

³ This number excludes *le pudding* since this is merely a coincidence and the -ing is not acting as a suffix.

⁴ Question 4 – ‘Utilisez-vous ces mots ?’ – Do you use these words?

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

the impact of English borrowings on the French language, homogenous (root morphemes from the same parent language) and other types of heterogenous (root morphemes from distinct parent languages) composed borrowings are irrelevant.

Both classes of morphemic borrowing appear to have a fairly big impact on modern French, but, against most other types of borrowing, it is quite a limited impact. Once borrowed, affixes have a very high repeatability since they can be added to a variety of root nouns or verbs but they are not initially likely to be borrowed (Whitney, 1881) as suitable native affixes often exist. Conversely, root morphemes in agglutinative borrowings are more borrowable since they are often nouns (Whitney, 1881) but rarer as native *mots-valise* (portmanteaus) can exist (e.g. *la célébrité*) and be used to a similar effect, thus reducing the prevalence of heterogenous agglutinative borrowings and their impact. Overall, due to both of their applications in all forms of French, morphemic borrowings appear to have a higher impact on modern French than phonemic borrowings, despite having a lower impact than other types due to the limitations outlined above.

Semantic Borrowing (Meaning)

Semantic borrowing takes place when the meaning of a word in the donor language is imported into the recipient language. It does not rely on importing or substituting the morphemes, although this is a common by-product, so this paper will try to assess borrowings that are isolated semantic borrowings which include semantic borrowings based on semantic confusion (see below) and phraseological semantic borrowings.

Semantic borrowings that stem from semantic confusion at first glance appear to be a morphemic borrowing, but are often the inverse and are a result of morphological similarities (often due to having the same etymological root in Latin or Greek). Despite the semantic

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

distinction, these are often known as *faux amis* or false cognates. This is explained by Haugen's (1950, p. 220) definition of semantic confusion⁵ and in modern French these are often found in domains dominated by English, even if there is a pre-existing, suitable French word which can eventually result in the lexical death of the original native word (Haugen, 1950, p. 220). For example, the English word library (with the French equivalent of *bibliothèque*) has recently taken on a new meaning due to the IT boom of the last few decades, and due to semantic confusion *librairie* (meaning book shop) is instead frequently used (Redkire, 2019; Sophie, 2020), despite attempts to call it *une bibliothèque logicielle* (Anon., 2021) or *une bibliothèque de cellules* (FranceTerme, 2000).

Phraseological semantic borrowings, on the other hand, often appear to be calques but the distinction is that calques are literal and direct translations of each individual word, resulting in a nonsensical semantic chunk or infringement of French's grammatical rules (see syntactical borrowing). True, phraseological semantic borrowings will follow the syntactical rules of the recipient language and be understandable, but there is also a borrowing of meaning from the donor language, such as having '*un cadavre dans le placard*'⁶ (Humbley, 1974, p. 63). Phraseological semantic borrowings are very common in certain fields. In fact, in *Le Nouvel Observateur* alone the semantic chunk '*le feu vert*'⁷ has come up 1,497 times since the year 2000 (Solano, 2012).

Semantic borrowing has a large impact on modern French and, as the above statistic highlights, semantic borrowings are very common in a variety of fields and in everyday *français standard* (France 24, 2020). Phraseological semantic borrowings are impactful in a

⁵ 'Language A has two words a_1 and a_2 which both overlap some meanings of word b in language B, pressure of B on A (high language contact, prestige or bilingualism typically) will often lead to confusion of a_1 and a_2 ; if a_1 resembles b phonetically, it may even displace a_2 entirely'.

⁶ Translated as 'a skeleton in the closet' in the sense of a discreditable or embarrassing fact that someone wishes to keep secret.

⁷ Translated as 'the green light' in the sense of giving permission to go ahead with.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

positive way as they provide the meaning of a common donor language idiom (as discussed above), thus enriching the language. On the other hand, borrowings from semantic confusion do not require a lexical gap and therefore they are also impactful but in a way that can result in lexical loss, which permanently changes the lexicon of a language. One of the factors limiting the impact of semantic borrowings is that semantic confusions are rarely seen in official French as French is closely managed by the *Ministère de la Culture* and the *Académie française* (FranceTerme, 2000). Overall, despite the very different outcomes of the two types of semantic borrowing, both can be argued to have a large impact on the modern French language and do so with a fairly wide scope in many domains, so they are more impactful than both morphemic and phonemic borrowings but, as this paper will argue, less so than cultural and syntactic.

Cultural Borrowing

Cultural borrowings are a subset of total borrowings. They are different from core borrowings since they require a complete lexical gap⁸. However, they are similar to core borrowings in the sense that they involve complete semantic and morphemic importation. Some past examples include traditional foods, like *la paella* for the Spanish dish, and customs, such as *le tango* for the traditional Argentinian dance. In modern French, cultural borrowings are often neologisms in rapidly growing industries such as information, economics or business after the birth of a concrete or abstract idea that originated in another language. Increasingly, there are also neologisms in popular culture that were born in English and spread to French. Some examples from over the last half-century or so include *le hacking* (first used 1955)

⁸ This means that there are not even close synonyms in the recipient language.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

(Belcic, 2020), *la start-up* (first used 1992⁹) (Belhadj, 2020), *le blog* (first used 1997) (Anon., n.d.) and *le mansplaining* (2008) (Coccimiglio, 2015) amongst many others.

The expostulation from the *Académie française* over cultural borrowings is often deemed unreasonable, but perhaps this is not the case as it is undoubtedly true that they have a very large impact. In regards to their borrowability, nouns have been frequently deemed the most borrowable (Whitney, 1881) and these cultural borrowings are frequently nouns (Gardani, 2018, p. 9) and their verbal form is then created by adding a French verb (e.g. *faire du mansplaining*).

Moreover, as well as being frequently borrowed within their respective specialist field (or slang for popular culture), they are often more widely used because there is no other alternative that is equally convenient. Furthermore, there exists not just the possibility but the quasi-inevitability of certain long-term impacts. As society evolves there will unavoidably be new concepts resulting in neologisms and, as English is the dominant language in many of these fields, this will result in cultural borrowings. The reason this will be so impactful is that it means that an increasingly greater proportion of French words will be anglicisms, a trend which can be seen already in wider French in the growth from 2.5% of the French standard vocabulary being comprised of anglicisms in 1990 to 4 or 5% in 1998 (Cziffra, 2013) to 10% in 2016 (Cathala, 2016). Hence there is the possibility and, in fact, the reasonably high likelihood that cultural borrowings will result in a large overlap between the English and French lexica, thus arguably harming the French language due to a lack of nuance that often exists between languages. Taking this into account, cultural borrowings debatably have a very large current impact and it appears that this will only grow in the future, thus making it more impactful than all bar syntactical borrowing.

⁹ Although the English was first seen in Forbes (1976), this is the date of the first appearance in a French dictionary.

Syntactical Borrowing (Grammar)

Syntactical borrowing involves the assimilation of the donor language's grammar and structure to those of the recipient language, with the result of being technically nonsensical and grammatically incorrect in the recipient language. While Haugen's (1950, p. 214) 'loan translations' and the French term *calques* are indeed similar, here, pure syntactical borrowing relies on a transgression of the grammatical and structural rules of the native language. Although syntactical borrowings are especially prevalent in slang, they are rapidly encroaching on *le français standard* too and becoming commonplace in everyday spoken and written French, if not in official French. This is primarily due to the increasing globalisation and bilingualism which result in approximately two-fifths of the French population (How Widely Spoken, n.d.) speaking some English and therefore English syntax can be easily understood and adopted.

There are several ways in which anglicisms can neglect the grammatical laws of French, one of the most common of which is incorrect word order. In French, there are strict rules about adjectival word order (Collins, n.d.) which often differs from the English (as is seen with '*le feu vert*'). One frequently seen example of a clear transgression of these rules is *la positive attitude*, which is used far more frequently¹⁰ than the grammatically correct *attitude positive*. Similarly, in everyday French the phrases *un bon dix minutes* instead of *dix bonnes minutes* (Gouvernement du Canada, 2020)¹¹, which not only perverts word order but also ignores French agreement rules. Proper nouns are also rife with incorrect word order, particularly in

¹⁰ Both as an official term in psychology (Kammerer, 2022) and in popular culture (Lagahe, 2020) (Pester, 2004).

¹¹ *Un bon dix minutes* is equally common in *français standard*.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

tourist hot spots in an attempt to attract anglophone tourists, for example, *le Nice Jazz Festival* instead of *le Festival de Jazz de Nice* (Nice Jazz Festival, 2023).

Another common form of grammatical borrowing stems from the use of an incorrect preposition. There are many examples (Gouvernement du Canada, 2020) but one of the most common is replacing with another preposition or totally removing *à* since there are many possible English translations depending on the context, such as *with*¹² or *on*¹³ (mostly in an abstract sense), or sometimes it is not translated but is always seen with certain verb structures¹⁴.

Syntactical borrowings perhaps have the most transformative effect on the modern French language. Since grammar and structure are affected and these are the very foundations of any language, even if they appear to be small changes, linguistically they have a magnified effect as altered grammar will affect many scenarios, irrespective of the vocabulary used, whereas other forms of borrowing are only single words. Although it may seem unlikely to happen in French, the example of Imbabura Quechua shows that this can happen in the modern world. Imbabura Quechua has undergone grammatical change as a borrowing from other forms of Quechua and Spanish which can be seen in the loss of personal reference markers which thus necessitates prenominal argument forms (Rendón, 2007, p. 484). This is a change which affects any clause with a direct object (which is very common) thus exemplifying the earlier point about how grammatical change (and hence syntactical borrowings) has a revolutionary impact on language. Although these are only potentially future problems, the move to anglicised syntax (and thus the removal of French syntax) will only progress in the coming years (LePoint.fr, 2022). Although some linguists (Whitney, 1881; Jdetawy & Hamzah, 2020)

¹² For example to say “I will be with you in ten minutes” one should say “*je suis à toi dans dix minutes*”, but many would incorrectly say “*je suis avec toi dans dix minutes*”.

¹³ For example ‘to be on a committee’ is *siéger à un comité* but it is often wrongly phrased as *siéger sur un comité*.

¹⁴ Some such structures are *échouer à un examen* or *payer à quelqu’un* but sometimes the *à* is skipped entirely.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

argue that on a scale of borrowability, grammatical structures are the least likely to be replaced, syntactical borrowings nonetheless seem to have a greater effect on modern French than other forms of borrowing due to the application of grammar in all parts of French.

Conclusion

Having briefly discussed and analysed each type of borrowing from English this paper has ordered the types of borrowing according to the extent of their impact on the modern French language where impact is defined based on the borrowability, scope and potential future impact of the borrowing. This paper has come to the conclusion that syntactical borrowing has the greatest impact on the modern French language, followed by cultural (because of the likely, increasing future impact), semantic, morphemic then phonemic, in that order. This is due to the potency of syntactical borrowing to affect the foundations of the modern French language in a way that in turn could affect every syntactical construction, a trait which is shared by no other form of borrowing and thus outweighs the widespread nature of cultural borrowings and the smaller impacts of the other forms of borrowing. Phonemic borrowing appears to be the least significant of all types of borrowing, primarily since it is confined to spoken French.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

Works Cited

- Académie française, 2019. *Communiqué de l'Académie française*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.academie-francaise.fr/actualites/communiquede-lacademie-francaise-1>
[Accès le 25 February 2023].
- Anderson, C., 2018. *5.1 How Babies Learn the Phoneme Categories of Their Language*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/essentialsoflinguistics/chapter/5-2-how-babies-learn-the-phoneme-categories-of-their-language/#:~:text=Using%20an%20experimental%20technique%20called%20habituation%2C%20researchers%20have.language%20between%20six%20an>
[Accès le 2 May 2023].
- Andersson, S., Sayeed, O. & Vaux, B., 2014. The Phonology of Language Contact. Dans: O. H. E. Board, éd. *Oxford Handbook Topics in Linguistics (online edn)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anon., 2021. *Bibliothèque logicielle*. [En ligne]
Available at: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biblioth%C3%A8que_logicielle
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Anon., 2021. *Français standard*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://fr.wikipedia.org>
[Accès le 23 March 2023].
- Anon., 2023. *French Phonology*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- Anon., 2023. *Picard Language*. [En ligne]
Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Picard_language
[Accès le 8 May 2023].
- Anon., 2023. *Short and Long E Vowel Sound Words List*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.englishbix.com/>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- Anon., s.d. *L'Évolution et l'Histoire du Blogging*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://uac-m.org/fr/l/%C3%89volution-et-lhistoire-du-blogging/>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Bazin-Bacon, E., 1858. *Eugène's key to the French pronunciation*. s.l.:s.n.
- Belcic, I., 2020. *Qu'est-ce que le hacking?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.avast.com/fr-fr/c-hacker#topic-1>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Belhadj, A., 2020. *Start-up ou startup ? Choisir entre 2 orthographes acceptées*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.motscles.net/blog/startup-ou-start-up>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Britannica, 2023. *Morpheme*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/morpheme>
[Accès le 4 April 2023].
- Britannica, 2023. *Phoneme*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/phoneme>
[Accès le 4 April 2023].
- Cartier, A., 1977. Connaissance et usage d'anglicismes par des Français de Paris. *La Linguistique*, 13(2), pp. 55-84.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

- Cathala, J., 2016. *La langue française comporte 10% d'anglicismes*. [En ligne]
Available at: https://www.francetvinfo.fr/societe/education/la-langue-francaise-comporte-10-d-anglicisme_1361983.html
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Coccimiglio, J., 2015. *What Is Mansplaining? The Origins (And Misuse) of the Term*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.makeuseof.com/tag/mansplaining-origins-misuse-term/#:~:text=According%20to%20KnowYourMeme%20%28an%20encyclopedia%20of%20Internet%20memes%29%2C,a%20term%20people%20actively%20searched%20for%20in%202011.>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Collins, s.d. *What is the word order with French adjectives? - Easy Learning Grammar French*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://grammar.collinsdictionary.com/french-easy-learning/what-is-the-word-order-with-french-adjectives>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- Comrie, B., 2000. Language Contact, Lexical Borrowing , and Semantic Fields. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, Volume 28, pp. 73-86.
- Cordis, 2011. *Babies pick up complex grammar rules at 4 months, study shows*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://cordis.europa.eu/article/id/33234-babies-pick-up-complex-grammar-rules-at-4-months-study-shows>
[Accès le 3 May 2023].
- Cziffra, M., 2013. *Français et anglicismes: quand le français se met à parler anglais*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.slate.fr/story/69533/francais-anglais-anglicismes-francais>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Develey, A., 2017. *Pour 80% des Français, la langue est un facteur d'intégration nationale*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.lefigaro.fr/langue-francaise/actu-des-mots/2017/03/14/37002-20170314ARTFIG00206-pour-80-des-francais-la-langue-est-un-facteur-d-integration-national.php>
[Accès le 3 April 2023].
- Dylane, 2022. *20 French Words Where The Final S is Pronounced*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://theperfectfrench.com/>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- Forbes, 1976. *Forbes*, 15 August, p. 6.
- France 24, 2020. *Covid-19 : l'UE envisage de donner son feu vert en décembre aux vaccins Moderna et Pfizer/BioNTech*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.france24.com/fr/europe/20201119-covid-19-l-ue-envisage-de-donner-son-feu-vert-en-d%C3%A9cembre-aux-vaccins-moderna-et-pfizer-biontech>
[Accès le 2 May 2023].
- France-Inter, 1996. *le Journal de 13h, 15 mars*. s.l.:s.n.
- FranceTerme, 2000. *bibliothèque de cellules*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.culture.fr/franceterme/terme/INFO88>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Gardani, F., 2018. On morphological borrowing. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 12(2), pp. 1-17.
- Gouvernement du Canada, 2020. *Anglicismes Syntaxiques*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.noslangues-ourlangues.gc.ca/fr/cles-de-la-redaction/anglicismes-syntaxiques>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- Greavu, A., 2017. A Classification of Borrowings: Observations from Romanian/English Contact. *Diversité et Identité Culturelle en Europe*, 10(2), pp. 95-104.

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

- Haspelmath, M., 2009. Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues. Dans: *Loanwords in the World's Languages*. s.l.:De Gruyter, pp. 35-54.
- Haugen, E., 1950. The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language*, 26(2), pp. 210-231.
- Hewings-Martin, Y., 2017. *Bilingualism: What happens in the brain?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- How Widely Spoken, s.d. *How Widely Spoken is English in France?*. [En ligne]
Available at: https://howwidelyspoken.com/how-widely-spoken-english-france/?utm_content=cmp-true
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- Humbley, J., 1974. Vers une typologie de l'emprunt linguistique. *Cahiers de Lexicologie*, 25(2), pp. 46-70.
- Jdetawy, L. F. & Hamzah, M. H. B., 2020. Loanwords in the Taxonomy of Borrowing: A Sociolinguistic Analysis. *Language in India*, 20(12), pp. 98-135.
- Kammerer, B., 2022. La positive attitude, de quoi parle-t-on ?. *Sciences Humaines*, 13 June, Issue 67.
- Kang, Y., 2013. Loanwords. Dans: *Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographies Online, pp. 1-17.
- Lagahe, P., 2020. *Comment adopter la positive attitude ?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://sante.journaldesfemmes.fr/quotidien/1002312-comment-adopter-la-positive-attitude/>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- LePoint.fr, 2022. *L'Académie française très inquiète de l'explosion du français*. [En ligne]
Available at: https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/l-academie-francaise-tres-inquiete-de-l-explosion-du-francais-15-02-2022-2464939_23.php#11
[Accès le 6 May 2023].
- macro trends, s.d. *France GDP Per Capita 1960-2023*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/FRA/france/gdp-per-capita>
[Accès le 3 April 2023].
- Merriam-Webster, s.d. *Language*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/language>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- McEwan, E., s.d. *Root Words, Roots and Affixes*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.readingrockets.org>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- Myers-Scotton, C., 1995. Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 37(1), p. 107.
- Nassie, s.d. *Regional languages in France: 24 Facts and history*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://snippetsofparis.com/>
[Accès le 24 March 2023].
- Neeley, T., 2012. *Global Business Speaks English*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://hbr.org/2012/05/global-business-speaks-english>
[Accès le 3 April 2023].
- Nice Jazz Festival, 2023. *Nice Jazz Festival*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.nicejazzfestival.fr/fr/>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- Pelletier, A., 2021. *Le français, une menace pour l'avenir du français?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.lesaffaires.com/blogues/le-courrier-des-lecteurs/le-francais-une-menace-pour-l-avenir-du-francais/625684>
[Accès le 3 April 2023].

What Type Of Borrowing From English Has The Greatest Impact On The Modern French Language?

- Pester, L., 2004. *La positive attitude*. [Enregistrement audio] (Epic Records).
- Pohl, J., 2021. *What are the pros and cons of using loanwords (foreign words) in any language?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.quora.com/What-are-the-pros-and-cons-of-using-loanwords-foreign-words-in-any-language>
[Accès le 3 April 2023].
- Redkire, 2019. *Les librairies en programmation*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://leblogducodeur.fr/les-librairies-en-programmation/>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Rendón, J. G., 2007. Grammatical borrowing in Imbabura Quichua (Ecuador). Dans: J. S. Y. Matras, éd. *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*. s.l.:Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 481-521.
- Rogers, R., 2022. *MyClassTracks*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://myclasstracks.com>
[Accès le 23 March 2023].
- Solano, R. M., 2012. Multi-word loan translations and semantic borrowings from English in French journalistic discourse. Dans: C. Furiassi, V. Pulcini & F. R. González, éd. *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 199-215.
- Sophie, 2020. *C'est quoi une librairie en programmation*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://fr.tuto.com/blog/2020/10/librairie-programmation.htm#>
[Accès le 5 April 2023].
- Starkey, R., 2020. *Reborrowings*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://starkeycomics.com/2020/06/06/reborrowings/>
[Accès le 4 April 2023].
- Statista Research Department, 2023. *The most spoken languages worldwide in 2022*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.statista.com/>
[Accès le 23 March 2023].
- TF1 Info, 2020. *Anglicismes : une menace ou un enrichissement de la langue française ?*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.tf1info.fr/societe/anglicismes-une-menace-ou-un-enrichissement-de-la-langue-francaise-academie-francaise-vs-linguiste-2168796.html>
[Accès le 6 April 2023].
- Thompson, R. B. & Gleason, J. B., 2000. Language Death. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 22(2), pp. 269-273.
- Tomedes, 2021. *French Speaking Countries and Varieties of the French Language*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://www.tomedes.com/>
[Accès le 23 March 2023].
- Tresley, 2006. *Discussion: [VG] -ing words used in French*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/discussion-vg-ing-words-used-in-french.279004/>
[Accès le 4 April 2023].
- Whitney, W. D., 1881. On mixture in language. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association*, Volume 12, pp. 1-26.
- Wiktionary, 2023. *cyber*. [En ligne]
Available at: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/cyber>
[Accès le 4 April 2023].